

search towards the
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linked in love.
in the cause of
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have perished;
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her strife,
a heaven.
and revealed
curse for man;
thy shield;
all in the van,
despite,
the lamp of God
in the Right.'

THE LIBERATOR

— IS PUBLISHED —

EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,

— AT THE —

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

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The Agents of the American Anti-Slavery So-

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and of truth. The children of many slaveholders were attending the school, and the prospects of business around were improving; the land was looking up in price, and many facilities for a more comfortable life were being introduced as the result of the labor of the few who were engaged in the work.— Much good had in this way already been accomplished. Men from the North were obtaining a favorable recognition as men of enterprise and of real worth in the community, and he (the speaker) had so attracted the attention of one slaveholder that there was talk of his being employed to oversee his farm.

In the midst of all this, came the news of the Harper's Ferry affair, the fear of the expulsion. Last Sabbath was an interesting and solemn day at Berea. Assembled in the school-house and church, addresses were made by those who were to be driven from their homes, and by others, and afterwards with many tears, and with much of regret, a parting took place. A few days after, the people in whose midst the now exiles had labored, entertained them at a dinner. On Thursday followed the exodus. In the rain, the mud, and the cold, they set out for this region. The exiles in all this were hopeful and happy, the poor ones left behind tearful and mourning. Those who expelled this colony were not the fiery fanatics or the rowdy class, but the wealthy and the strong, who had long studied upon it, but who, ignorant of the designs of the mission, thought it unsafe to allow its existence in their midst. During the first excitement, there was no delay in the continuation of the work, nor any wavering in the prosecution of the details of business. All believed it safe to remain until the determination to force an exile or to exterminate by death became apparent; then but two alternatives remained—flight or fight. Friends were around who could have assisted them unto safety, but the colonists believed that they should carry on their labor in love and in peace, and they preferred exile, with the silent preaching their voices would furnish, to the shedding of blood.

There is in these silent monitors which are left behind in the church, the rough houses and the few vacant acres of land, a tongue to speak louder than could any of the exiles, and already good has resulted. Some, even of the slaveholders, that knew them best, have not only expressed by words the sympathy they feel, but others have apologized for the actions of the many, and one made proof of money to enable the victim to reach a more generous home.

EXPULSION OF FREE NEGROES FROM ARKANSAS.—Large Arrival in Cincinnati.—Their Reception by the Colored Population.

At the late session of the Arkansas Legislature, an act was passed giving the free negroes of that State the alternative of migrating before January 1, 1860, or of becoming slaves. As the time of probation has now expired, while some few individuals have preferred servitude, the great body of the free colored people of Arkansas are on their way Northward. We learn that the upward bound boats are crowded with them, and that Seymour, Indiana, on the line of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, affords a temporary home for many others.

A party of forty, mostly women and children, arrived in this city last evening, by the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. They were welcomed by a committee of colored people from the colored people of the city, by whom the refugees were escorted to the Dunbar House, on McAllister street, between Fourth and Fifth, at which place a formal reception was held. They were assured by the chairman of the reception committee, Peter H. Clark, that if they were industrious and exemplary in their conduct, they would be sure to gain a good livelihood and many friends. The exiles, as before stated, are mostly women and children, the husbands and fathers being held in servitude. They report concerning the emigration, that hundreds of the free colored men of Arkansas have left for Kansas, and hundreds more are about to follow.—*Cincinnati Gazette*, Jan. 4.

The New York Tribune, in giving the revolting particulars of the flogging and feathering, and bloody scourging by the lash, of an unfeeling Irish workman, named James Power, in Columbia, S.C. (falsely accused of being an abolitionist) says:

After he had travelled he supposed fifty miles, a master-mechanic of Charleston, pitying his sufferings and exhaustion, gave him a cup of coffee and a biscuit; whereupon the mob around him stoned three of them to death, swearing death to him. Some came into the car and seized him by the hair, saying, 'Let's look at you, you God-damned abolition son of a b——.' Some desired to give him a fresh coat of tar and feathers, but, not able to find any of those staples, they applied cotton to the tar already on him. The mob were likewise of opinion that there were a whole lot of abolitionists in the cars who ought to be hanged. He arrived at Charleston and was put in prison.

He had been kindly counseled to make no complaints, or he would get 130 lashes more. A physician who attended him told him he escaped easily; for there were seven men, accused of being Northern pickpockets, arrested at the Agricultural State Fair, and committed to jail. One of them had received 500 lashes, another a less number; that the man who received the 500 was near dying. Power had not read of any trial of these men so accused and punished. Oil and water were given him to cleanse himself. Silence was enjoined on him, lest the mob should get hold of him. He paid his own passage money from Columbia to Charleston, the negro taking \$5 from his pocket-book. He heard that it was published that the negroes of Columbia had made a subscription to pay his passage. On Saturday last, at 7 in the morning, he was put on a steamer for New York.

When the Christmas festivities were at their height on Monday, this 'poor Exile of Erin,' with the blood-lash marks on his body—inflicted under the eye of the Constitution and laws, for some maudlin words or childish talk—Columbia, South Carolina—arrived at this great metropolis. He is reduced in flesh, but is sturdy in spirit. He asks work, not alms. It is a pity he could not have arrived in time for the Union meeting, soothed: Charles O'Connor, Esq., could have presented him to the Union-savers, and illustrated the effects of the patriarchal system on an army of Irishmen.

A letter from a Boston gentleman who has gone South for his health, states that on the first day out from Washington, he had a pistol held to his head, and that he was dogged by four Southern men for hundreds of miles, annoyed and insulted until he challenged the whole crowd of them to fight him, whereupon they backed out. All his newspapers from Boston have been withheld from him, and his letters have been broken open before they reached the post-office to which they were sent.

The Irrepressible Conflict. A letter dated Cynthia, Ky., says:

Three persons (preachers) were arrested for tampering with negroes in Madison county, Ky., last week. They were tarred and feathered, and sent back to the North from whence they came. They are considered murderers here. A Rev. gentleman has been notified to leave the State. The people here are determined to drive all such persons out.

We learn from the Auburn Signal, that some short time ago, near Society Hill, Macon county, Alabama, a man named L. Stearns, claiming to be from Montgomery, was caught tampering with a Mr. Richardson's negroes. He was driven off, and a party of citizens caught and whipped him. Two or three nights afterwards, Mr. Richardson had a lot of cotton set on fire.

An Italian grocer, named John Gioachino, narrowly escaped being lynched by the citizens of Petersburg, Va., last Monday, for saying that John Brown was a good and very useful man, and, instead of being hung, he ought to have been made President of the United States.

Bonj. F. Winter, a blacksmith by trade, has been ordered to leave the town of Hamilton, Harris County, Ga., by a meeting of citizens, for avowing abolition and incendiary sentiments.

A passenger on the Mississippi Central Railroad was pushed off the train while it was in full motion, for denouncing Gov. Wise and lauding John Brown.

The steamer Huntsville, which arrived in New York from Savannah, on Monday, December 19th, brought several passengers who had been driven away from different parts of the South. Among them were two gentlemen whose heads were shaved on one side! They had been exiled from the chivalrous State of South Carolina. One of the victims avowed his determination speedily to return to execute vengeance on his maltreaters.

[OBERLIN CIRCULAR.]

A MONUMENT.

To Commemorate the Manly Virtues of those Noble Representatives of the Colored Race of the Nineteenth Century, JOHN A. COPELAND, LEWIS LEARY, and SHELDY GREEN, who, for the Cause of Freedom, laid down their lives at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown, Va., October 17, and December 16, 1859.

The Citizens of Oberlin have undertaken the work of erecting a Monument to the memory of these their honored friends and townsmen. But, as they are representative men, of whom every colored person in the land has reason to be proud, we have not thought it right to withhold from such, nor indeed from any, the privilege of sharing the honor with them.

We make no stirring appeal for funds—preferring to say, in the language of the blessed book which was the solace of our friends as they approached the hour of their mortal agony—'Let every one whose heart has stirred him up, and whose spirit hath made him willing, bring the Lord's offering to the work of their Monument.'

The funeral of John Copeland was held in the Oberlin Church on the last Sabbath, and although but short notice of the meeting was given, fully three thousand persons were present to unite in congratulations, and to mingle their tears with those who were.

Our esteemed fellow-citizen, the Hon. James Monroe, member elect of the Ohio Senate, and a Professor in Oberlin College, had just returned from his humane mission to Virginia, and presented an interesting statement of his earnest, though unsuccessful efforts to recover the body of our friend. (Other and earlier efforts for the same object, though intended to be efficient, had likewise proved a failure.)

Professor H. E. Peck, of Oberlin College, (one of the men who lay in Cuyahoga jail for eighty-five days, for alleged complicity with those who rescued a fellow-being from the grasp of man-stealers,) preached an eloquent funeral sermon. He marked the providence of God which had furnished for the colored race a not less firm, heroic and Christ-like champion than had the white race in the person of the immortal John Brown.

Young Copeland was a man of incomplete education, and of few words, but brave and energetic. He was favorably known in our community; and was honored as the second man who entered the womb, and faced a forest of revolters, when the noted 'John' was born.

How brightly do his virtues shine when the circumstances of his last days are carefully considered! Falsely published by the highest authority of Virginia as craven and trembling—fearful, doubtful, that the base slander might be believed—sheered by the friendly assurance of admiring thousands which so greatly sustained other patriots—surrounded by those who never dreamed of nobleness in a negro, why did he not sink? Answer—God inspired him with Christian courage to nobly represent a race which worthily did he represent them!

The Baltimore Sun says: A few moments before leaving the jail, Copeland said, 'If I am dying for freedom, I could not die for a better cause—I had rather die than be a slave!' A military officer in charge on the day of the execution says, 'I had a position near the gallows, and carefully observed all. I can truly say, I never witnessed more firm and unwavering fortitude, more perfect composure, or more beautiful propriety, than were manifested by young Copeland to the very last.'

The following extract from his recent letters, one of which was written on the morning of his execution, will exhibit this noble young man to the admiration of every lover of the true, the beautiful, and the good.

Charlestown, Va. Dec. 10, 1859.

My Dear Brother—I now take pen my to answer you a few lines to let you know how I am, and in answer to your kind letter of the 5th instant. Dear Brother, I am, it is true, so situated at present as scarcely to know how to commence writing; but that my mind is filled with fear, or that it has become shattered in view of my near approach to death. Not that I expect by the gallows, which I see so near to stand and suffer death for doing what I do, that I will not grieve about me; but that you will thank God that he spared me to make my peace with him.

And now, dear ones, attach no blame to any one for my coming here, for not any person but myself is to blame.

I must with a very few words close my correspondence with those who are the most near and dear to me: but I hope, in the end, we may again communicate more never to cease.

Dear ones, he who writes this will, in a few hours, be in this world no longer. Yes, these fingers which hold the pen with which this is written will before to-day's sun has reached his meridian, have laid it aside forever, and this poor soul has taken his flight to the arms of his God.

And now, dear ones, I must bid you that last, long, sad farewell. Good by, Father, Mother, Henry, William, and Freddy, Sarah and Mary! Save your God, and meet me in heaven.

Your Son and Brother to eternity.

JOHN A. COPELAND.

One three cent piece keep as a token.

Nor was Lewis Leary an unsuitable associate of the heroic Copeland. A Christian man—driven forth amid a shower of rifle balls from the hand of his father, because of efforts to deliver him from slavery—was shot dead by the hands of the same scoundrels who had captured him.

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JANUARY 13.

THE LIBERATOR.

NON-RESISTANCE AND ANTI-SLAVERY.

There are no more thorough abolitionists than the small and despised set of men and women, who, having renounced the use of injurious force, call themselves Non-Resistants. Small as this number is, I believe the two chief characteristics of the American Anti-Slavery Society—the vigor and pertinacity of its moral warfare against slavery, combined with a disuse and discouragement of the application of physical force to the overthrow of that sin—are alike, and equally, owing to them. Recognizing, thankfully, my own indebtedness to these men—having learned from them both these great constituents parts of Christian truth, both Anti-Slavery and Non-Resistance, as well as to those of my teachers.

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language, and reason, and justice, in one expression. To speak of an organization which compels one set of men to work without wages, and which drives out of its territories all who presume to censure this tyranny, and which allows and perpetrates every sort of subordinate outrage needful for the perpetuation of these two primary outrages—to speak of this as a government, legitimately claiming the allegiance of the citizen—is to utter absurdity combined with wickedness. The more such an organization is predominant and successful, the more disorder reigns in that place. That now calls itself a government in Virginia has not the slightest just claim upon the allegiance of any human being. To set that organization at naught, to reverse its decrees, and to establish that freedom which it has proscribed, is indispensable pre-requisites to the establishment of 'government' there.

But another incidental feature of Brown's plan was to apply such money and other available property as he found in possession of the slaveholders to the benefit of the slaves. Was this right?

I reply, Certainly it was right, because these things are already the property of the slaves—the products of their labor—the wages wrongfully kept back from them—the property stolen from them, piece by piece, as it was earned, and, by a double injustice, perverted to the use of their oppressors, whose special pride and boast it was, that they lived in luxury without earning anything. Is it wrong for the constable to take the traveler's property from the highwayman, to return it to the traveler?

One piece of private property, however, was unjustly taken, namely, a sword, which was one of the few articles which really belonged to Lewis Washington; one of the few things in his possession which he had not stolen from the men and women whom he held as slaves. This sword, descending from Frederick of Prussia through George Washington, came into the hands of Lewis Washington by gift or inheritance, not by plunder. This was taken by Cooke, not by Brown; and when the latter knew it was his, he promised Lewis Washington that it should be returned to him whenever the necessity of his confinement should cease.

It will next be asked—Was it right for John Brown to seize the United States arsenal?

I reply—Certainly it was right. This was the place where a still larger gang of robbers had stored their plunder; the place where a large amount of property, taken from the country at large, North and South, ostensibly to be used for the rightful purposes of a Democratic government, had been applied, to the defense of an oligarchical bandit which had overthrown the Democracy. That arsenal, with its contents, belonged to THE PEOPLE of the United States, black and white, South and North. And whatever portion of that people, taking possession of this property, will use it for the purposes specified in the Constitution of the United States, namely—

TO FORM A PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, ENSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENCE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY, will at once arrest the perversion of this public property, and restore it to its original and legitimate purpose.

At the meeting referred to, Mr. Wright offered a resolution to the effect that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, and therefore the slaves should be invited to resist their masters. He spoke an hour and forty minutes, and applied his argument to the slaves, stating that probably did not deem it necessary to depart from his usual custom of listening in a quiet way, and let those who hired the hall do as they pleased, and take the responsibility.

As Gen. Wilson had addressed a large meeting in the same place only a few evenings before, and had given his views at length and with much explicitness, concerning the slaves, it was decided to postpone the meeting to another time.

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The resolution of Mr. Wright, as interpreted by him, contained nothing but a simple expression of opinion to slavery by all proper and legitimate means, but it was artfully drawn by Mr. Wright, so as to convey to those who did not hear his explanation a meaning of a different kind.

Not content with the wrong done me in your letter to Governor Wise and John Brown, you have, in a letter addressed to me, which I find in the New York *Herald* of the 24th inst., attempted to sustain your original act of misrepresentation.

Sir, this act of injustice, this deliberate effort to associate my name with the sentiment embodied in your resolution, and to hold me responsible for the acts of a meeting in which I was a mere spectator, fills me with amazement.

It is my position that I am not to be held responsible for his invasion of Virginia.

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POETRY.

For the Liberator.

BONNETS—TO JOHN BROWN.
I.
Tis not ill man can do will make thee vile,
Tis not what man can say makes a name base;
Noble, strong-hearted Brown! such is thy case;
Slavery had thee in its grasp awhile,
Paint, wavy, wounded; and triumphant smile,
Hoping to crush thee, and disgrace thy name;
They but mistake. Such outcry, and each sneer,
But show her cruel cowardice and fear;
Such terror, ill-concealed, but spreads thy fame,
Thy memory to future times how dear,
When Slavery is rooted from the land,
And Afric's children, free, unfettered, stand,
Sharing with their white brethren equal laws;
Oh, generous martyr to a glorious cause!

II.

And dare they threat that gray and bleeding head,
Survivor of thy sons for Freedom slain,
Slain to free Kansas' soil from Slavery's tread,
And to unclasp the wretched negro's chain?
Yes, "Southern Chivalry," like some of old,
For base revenge, and sordid lust of gold,
Ye may hang high your victim! But, beware
The wicked deed! He is away now,
And so still remain. Your sons will bow
With shame, that they such fathers' names should
bear;
The rope that slays your victim drags ye down
To your unhonored graves, unwept, forlorn;
And passers-by survey them with a frown,
Pointing the finger of reproach and scorn.
Tenterden, (England.) JANE ASHBY.

FRIEND GARRISON—Send you a few lines that were read, the other evening, in this place, upon the character of John Brown, the martyr. It is the production of a mechanic while at work at his lathe—a man of no education. It had a good effect upon the audience.
J. C. N.

JOHN BROWN.

John Brown, of Osawatomie,
I vindicate to-night;
For he, like men of other times,
Did battle for the right.And though his Waterloo has come,
His name shall live in song,
And arm in arm with Washington,
In Freedom's name be borne.A history for coming time—
A beacon-light to man—
John Brown, of Osawatomie,
Will lead in Freedom's van.America shall own his worth,
United yet as one;
And old Virginia blush to tell
What for his martyrdom.Each child upon his mother's knee
Will learn his history o'er;
And, as our Washington, he'll be
Remembered evermore.In every land where Freedom strikes
The still untiring blow,
His fate shall nerve the patriot's arm
With vengeance on the foe.High in the scale of being stands
A martyr such as he;
And few on earth will die so well,
Of all the crowds that be.Scarce in the history of the past
Such nobleness we find,
As one who perils life and all
To benefit his kind.But such there were in early days,
And such all time will see,
Till o'er the earth in every land
The human race are free.

THE LIBERATOR.

JOHN BROWN COMMEMORATION MEETING AT WEST BROOKFIELD, VT.

DEAR MR. GARRISON.—Of the many meetings held on Dec. 2d, I will give you a brief sketch of one in the little mountain-enveloped village of West Brookfield, Vt. The people of that place, and some of the adjoining towns, to a much greater number than could have been expected on such a rainy evening, assembled to give expression to their views of the execution of John Brown, and sympathy for his afflicted family. The meeting was opened by Rev. Joseph Claffin, who read a chapter from the Bible concerning the crucifixion of Christ, and offered prayer. They then organized by appointing Rev. J. Claffin President; J. Hutchinson, Jr. and J. M. Coburn Vice Presidents; E. F. Claffin, Treasurer; Mrs. Abby Hutchinson, Secretary. The following series of resolutions was presented, and earnestly and interestingly discussed:

1. Resolved, That the recent tragedy at Harper's Ferry, on the 17th of October last, is but the legitimate fruit and outworkings of the abhorrent slave system in our land, and is a new and startling proof that we are on the eve of a mighty revolution, more noble, more patriotic, and more sublime, than the revolutionary struggle that gained our national independence:

2. Resolved, That in the language of Thomas Jefferson, "one hour of the slave's bondage is fraught with more misery than ages of which our fathers rose in rebellion to oppose;" therefore, the patriotism and heroism of Capt. John Brown, in his recent and well-meant, but unsuccessful attempt to rescue, at the peril of his life, four millions of men, women and children from the grasp of tyrants, and from the unendurable wrongs and cruelties of American Slavery, far transcend those noble qualities in Gen. Washington or Lafayette.

3. Resolved, That the malignity and guilt of those who have this day taken the life of Capt. John Brown upon the gallows, find their parallel only in the crucifiers of the Son of God upon the Cross.

4. Resolved, That as "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," so the death of Capt. Brown will intensify the "irrepressible conflict," and hasten the downfall of the slave power and its despotic rule—thus disappointing the hopes and defeating the wicked purposes of tyrants and oppressors.

5. Resolved, That Osawatomie Brown has justly earned an immortality of fame, and his name, in all the coming ages of the future, will stand in enviable contrast with many illustrious names that adorn the pages of history.

6. Resolved, That the people of the North will show themselves ardent hypocrites and cowards, if they do not avenge the blood of John Brown, in demanding the immediate and unconditional emancipation of every slave within the precincts of the American Government.

7. Resolved, That the deeply afflicted family of Capt. Brown are peculiarly entitled to, and have a strong claim upon the sympathies and aid of all who love liberty, and hate oppression; and all should feel it a privilege to contribute of their mites in aid of said family, who have this day been wickedly bereft of their worthy and honored head.

8. Resolved, That in the conflict we have engaged with Slavery, in this land, our motto henceforward shall ever be—VICTORY OR DEATH!

There was a diversity of opinion concerning the policy of the last great project of John Brown, but none whatever concerning the indescribable evils of the system with which he waged war to the death. It seemed difficult for some to define their feelings—they were so conflicting as to baffle analysis; yet their sympathy with John Brown himself, their abhorrence of slavery, and determined intention to use their utmost endeavor for its overthrow, were manifestly apparent.

Those who gloried in our war of independence, and justified a resort to physical force for any purposes, gave their entire approval of the last act of John Brown, and believed him a hero, before the lustre of whose name the glory of the revolutionary fathers would grow dim. They believed we had reached a crisis in our national affairs, which demanded just such decisive measures. One gentleman remarked that we had tried the ballot-box long enough; he was for exchanging it for the cartridge-box. He thought the slaveholders would have a much greater fear of the latter. Rev. J. Claffin spoke at greater length than either of the speakers, but I am unable to report his words. He considered the Harper's Ferry tragedy a natural result of the workings of the slave system—said our government, measured in the balance of essential justice, was found wanting. He thought the nation would never sleep over the awakened interest of this occasion—expressed deep sympathy with John Brown and his family, and the slave as well.

The meeting was free and familiar, and many expressions of sympathy were given. A very creditable contribution was taken in aid of the bereaved family.

Bells were tolled in Braintree and Randolph, and in Randolph a public meeting was also held.

What did all the gatherings, enthusiasm, interest and sympathy of that day betoken, save the outpouring of the great heart of the people in resistance to the system of slavery, which our government protects and fosters? And when the people become sufficiently aroused, can their power be resisted?

ABBY HUTCHINSON, Sec'y.

THE 24 OF DECEMBER AT WAUKEGAN.

WAUKEGAN, Dec. 11, 1859.
FRIEND GARRISON.—In common with many others, we had a meeting here, commemorative of the death of the glorious old martyr, John Brown, at the following preamble and resolutions were passed:

Whereas, the late execution of John Brown demonstrates that American slavery victimizes the bravest and best of men; therefore

Resolved, That we will neither be a party to its turpitude, nor obey its behest, but will strenuously strive now and ever to banish it from every foot of American soil.

Resolved, That as the possibility never had occurred to us of men being tried, condemned, and convicted, and executed by law, for their faithfulness to the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence, under the Constitution of the United States, as present construed and carried out, the glorious stars and stripes, and the blessed Union: so we, from henceforth, place no confidence in those institutions for the protection of life or liberty, under the present administration of Government.

Resolved, That we will with our might, and strength, do our utmost to make Illinois a free State. Moved, That the Resolutions be published in both cities.

Moved, That a copy be sent to Gov. Wiss and President BUCHANAN.

The underscored part of the second resolution was inserted on motion of a would-be Member of Congress, who agrees when elected, to swear to support the Constitution of the U. S. as he understands it, and who, on the Slavery question, seems very anxious to have a face on the back part of his head.

The amendment was made with the ostensible object of making it conform to the sense of the meeting. I think, however, that as it now reads, it conforms quite as little to the sense of that gathering as you will see that it does to an article called common sense. However, the resolutions—especially the first two—evidently quite a discussion, and left an impression on the minds of those in attendance which I think will be lasting, in the expression of opinion, by those who spoke. With three exceptions, they were favorable

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hiring bands from Missouri. This time, John Brown was a still more unfortunate sufferer. The attack was made so suddenly, that, before the scattered inhabitants could collect in sufficient numbers to meet the enemy, more than twenty houses were burned to the ground, including those of John Brown and his sons. Two of his sons were also taken prisoners, and exposed to such hardships and cruelties, that one of them became for a time, insane.

Driven almost to madness by these multiplied sufferings, he resolved to take the field at the head of a small band of brave men, who, like himself, were ready to risk their lives for the good of the outraged territory. His first and most determined object was to release his two sons; but they were held prisoners under laws imposed upon them by invaders from a Slave State, and guarded by United States dragoons. Again was ill-fated Osawatomie attacked, and one of John Brown's sons shot dead while engaged in his peaceful employment.

The sorrow-stricken old man, as he that day returned to his desolate, adopted home, met the remaining members of the family mourning over the dead body of the son and brother who had been murdered in his absence. The brave old hero could endure no more. Dropping upon his knees, he supplicated the Supreme Ruler for the protection of his remaining family: then, taking a solemn oath that he would never cease his labors till Kansas was free from such hordes of murderers, he started to arouse his neighbors to action; and he did not sleep till he had overtaken and made prisoners of more than twenty of the "law and order" ruffians.

For this he was indicted for treason, and for months he was called an outlaw by a government that had refused to protect him or his family. But I need not tell more of his sufferings and labors in Kansas. The history of that Territory is full of accounts of his bravery and generosity. We are also well aware that our national government encouraged the invaders, who caused so much suffering, outrage and murder, by giving their leaders all the offices of honor and profit, and at the same time hunting down and imprisoning the most prominent free State settlers.

By and by, Mr. President, John Brown had done his duty in Kansas. By him, and other like noble spirits, freedom was secured to the "Italy of America." But his work was not yet done. He felt that he owed the same duty to the black man who toiled upon the plantations of Missouri, that he did to the white man on the prairies of Kansas. A slave went to him, and implored his assistance and protection toward a free land. He, with ten others, was to be sold the next day; and Brown, true to his convictions of duty, accompanied him to his quarters, effected their release, and conducted them in safety to the land where the colored man is free. Again he returned to his home; and again, so successful had he been in all his undertakings, that he began to think himself a man of destiny, chosen by the Almighty to lead the slave from his bondage. A grand and noble scheme was devised, of liberating thousands by a single blow. It was an idea worthy of the man; the man was worthy of the idea. Had he been successful in his enterprise, the world would have applauded, his name been revered, and his memory cherished long after the death of his compeers had passed, and the terrible destiny that awaits this guilty nation, and the certainty that destruction and bloodshed must be the final result.

Rev. Mr. Alger, late pastor of the Unitarian society, was the next speaker. He said he was not prepared to make a set speech; but he expressed in glowing terms his approbation of the sentiments of the last speaker, and believed the conduct of Brown justifiable, but perhaps wanting wisdom. But who is not fallible in judgment?

Isaac Osgood contrasted the present state of feeling existing between Virginia and Massachusetts, and that of 1776, and thought the experiment at that time was an entire failure, so far as freedom was concerned. He would not care, when he came to look for the last time on the setting sun, to know that this Union was preserved, but would wish that that orb might not rise upon a master nor set upon a slave.

A collection was taken for the family of Brown, and the meeting closed.

OBSERVANCE OF THE DAY IN ALBANY.

In Albany, three meetings of sympathy for John Brown were held on Friday—morning, afternoon, and evening—Dec. 2. Between the hours of 12 and 2, minute guns were fired from the foot of State street. At the forenoon meeting, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, In the language of Henry Clay, that while we would not force liberty upon other nations, we maintain that an oppressed people are authorized, whenever they can, to rise and break their fetters. (See speech March 24, 1818.)

Resolved, That so long as Pulaski, Kosciusko, De Kalb, Steuben and Lafayette, are justly honored for their devotion to the freedom of a people not their own, the equally heroic and disinterested efforts of John Brown to give liberty to a race alien to his own, must receive the sympathy and honor of all lovers in the galaxy of American patriots.

The nation will not soon forget the experience through which we are passing. We shall remember how hundreds of pro-slavery ruffians marched into Kansas, and for two years attempted to subdue and drive out all settlers who were opposed to slavery; and that the government encouraged them. We shall also remember how John Brown and his Spartan band went into a slave State to aid men in getting their liberty; and for it they all must die. Such is America to-day. History will tell to future ages a sad story of the first three-quarters of a century of American independence. But the future is full of hope. "The lesson of to-day will have an effect but few can even imagine."

To-night, thousands of slaves will learn the mournful tidings that their best friend has fallen; and in the stillness of darkness, they will whisper their first resolves to try alone the dangerous path over which he would so gladly have led them.

John Brown was born in New England, and he ever loved the free institutions of his native land; but he was a citizen of the world, and his large heart embraced all mankind. He would have all share alike the blessings of liberty.

Virginia may boast that she has taken his life, but his spirit still lives to cheer the hopes and inspire the thoughts of generations yet to be. The South may think with John Brown dies all the hope of the enslaved, but let her remember that

"Freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

Mr. President, while we contemplate the life and fate of John Brown, let us not forget his last request to the American people, that we should remember his afflicted family.

Resolved, That while Christians may disagree as to the merit of John Brown's act, all must recognize the parallel between his effort and the more successful one made by Moses, when he led the Israelitish bondmen out of Egypt.

Resolved, That while patriots may not all approve the course of John Brown, yet so long as the remembrance of Decatur's men to liberate the American captives from the Algerines, and the equally heroic attempt of the two Americans who went to Austria to rescue Lafayette from the dungeon of Olmütz, remains, we must accord to John Brown honor and glory equally with those "rare heroes of the past."

The day was dark and gloomy, and, one of the speakers remarked, like as on another memorable day, the sun refused to shine.

Large placards were posted about the city, reading thus—

"GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH!"

Execution of CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN.

BROWN MEETING AT NATICK.

The citizens of this town held an effective meeting on the evening of Dec. 2d, to express their sympathy for John Brown and his martyr spirit.

Among those who consented to take an active part, and to address the meeting, was Rev. N. L. George, the wholesale slanderer of Wm. L. Garrison and all who sympathize with this type of Anti-Slavery. Mr. George is the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is the veritable man who came to Milford, and gave a rehash of his tirade of personal abuse and slander, which you, friend Garrison, answered both at Natick and Milford. And for his vituperation and bitterness, he will long be remembered. Now for a revelation of his true character and position.

This Rev. gentleman was the first speaker introduced. He claims to be a friend (?) of the Slave, and his remarks showed him to be as friendly as Gov. Wise of Virginia. He said—the golden rule was not always to be observed or obeyed; that a criminal whom the judge is about to pass sentence, might say to him—remember the golden rule,—“Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.” In a case like this, he remarked, the duty of the judge would be to go pass sentence on the criminal, because he had violated a law. Slavery is constitutional, therefore lawful; consequently, the cases of the criminal and slave are parallel—one has violated a law, and must answer for it; the other is lawfully a slave, and must not be assisted to freedom, nor strive for it himself, because such a conduct would be unlawful.

The amendment was made with the ostensible object of making it conform to the sense of the meeting. I think, however, that as it now reads, it conforms quite as little to the sense of that gathering as you will see that it does to an article called common sense. However, the resolutions—especially the first two—evidently quite a discussion, and left an impression on the minds of those in attendance which I think will be lasting, in the expression of opinion, by those who spoke. With three exceptions, they were favorable

to the cause which the noble old hero espoused, viz: impartial human liberty; and those three were, first, a Swedenborgian, from the Bay State; 2d, a Spiritualist from the Green Mountains; and 3d, a renegade Quaker from R. I. —and by far the bitterest of the trio was the "unfriendly Friend," "Robber," "murderer," &c., were epithets which he belched forth, with all the bitterness of a model Democrat. I think the watch-word, "No Union with Slaveholders," will be more cherished here than it ever has been before, and that a higher standard of Anti-Slavery will be erected and maintained than heretofore.

G. W. S.

THE NORTH CAROLINA CASE.

FRIEND GARRISON.—In the month of September last, I noticed in the Washington *National Era* an account of the arrest and imprisonment of four colored seamens, said to be at Washington, (though it afterwards proved to be Wilmington, N. C.) on the charge of being engaged in the abduction of slaves, and an urgent appeal for funds for the expense of their defense, to be sent to Lewis Tappan, Esq. of New York, and I forwarded to him a small donation for this purpose, and afterward, by his request, a slip from the *Era*, with the account of this transaction. I have just now received a letter from Mr. Tappan, enclosing some documents, from which he requests me to make a statement of the case, to be published in the *Liberator*.

Nothing is known to us of the circumstances which led to the apprehension of these men, or the grounds on which they were suspected of the crime charged; but, it seems, they were tried at a Court in Wilmington for their lives, under a law of North Carolina, an extract of which I send you herewith. The trial was had under Judge D. F. Caldwell, and the result of it, as well as the character of the men, is shown by the following statement rendered to Mr. Tappan by his correspondent:

THOS. REID.

EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN.

A public meeting of the citizens of Marlboro', Mass., was convened in the town hall on Friday evening, Dec. 2, to express their sentiments respecting the execution of John Brown, and their sympathy with his afflicted family. The meeting was called to order by O. W. Albee, Principal of the High School. Mr. Howe was chosen Chairman, and Wm. F. Brigham, Secretary. Mr. Howe made a few remarks on the event that had called the people together, and then called on Mr. Albee to address the meeting. Mr. Albee responded by referring to the tragic event of to-day, and then passed to a review of the aggressions of the Slave Power, and their effect on such minds as his who had that day passed to heaven from a Virginia gallows. John Brown could not have been tried to a worse indictment, for he had been found guilty, and he was condemned to death. The trial was to be sent to Lewis Tapp